CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND TECHNIQUES

Introduction

This study presents selected aspects of research done in 1951 in Barrio Caticugan, a Visayan (Cebuano) community, located in Siaton municipality, Negros Oriental province, Negros Island, Philippines.[1] The research covered an eleven-month period, from January to December, while the writer had a Fulbright fellowship. Although all aspects of barrio life were studied, the material in this report will deal largely with the barriofolk's technology and material culture. Herskovits states that men obtain from

> ...their habitat by means of their technology the food-stuffs, the shelter, the clothing, and the implements they must have if they are to survive. The objects they make and use for these purposes are generally classified under the heading of material culture.[2]

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[1] "The 1939 Census of the Philippines (Vol. II, page 48) has the following detailed description of a barrio: '(It) usually consists from 10 to 1000 houses. Ordinarily, these houses are located very near each other, forming a small village, although in some cases the barrio may comprise several small settlements locally known as sitios,..The centrally located barrio and the one in which the municipal building is located is known as the poblacion.'" Population Classified by Province, by City, Municipality, and Municipal District, and by Barrio: Census of the Philippines, 1948. Manila, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Bureau of Printing, 1951, foreword. Hereafter cited as 1948 Philippine Census (Population).

[2] Melville J. Herskovits, Man and His Works: The Science of Cultural Anthropology. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, p. 241.

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> To my mind, the most important element of national strength or weakness is the common man. He is that man in the faraway barrio who is sometimes in rags, with gnarled limbs and calloused hands, humble, God-fearing, hardworking, many times exploited, often downtrodden, always in want. I think that our highest hopes for national strength lies in him, in the circumstances under which he labors and lives. To develop and strengthen his economic position is, therefore, of the most pressing urgency to us. The problem demands the best of our talents and our energies for its solution.[1]

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What remains now is to base action upon these honest statements.

The slow and unspectacular task of building up a body of systematic and accurate information on the barriofolk is one of the most important problems to be solved before a rural renaissance can be programmed in the Philippines. An irrigation canal system here, a new road there, and a few hundred sacks of fertilizer will not be enough. Before we can work with the Filipinos, or before they can help themselves alone, to reorganize and revitalize the rural Philippines, a "table of contents" of the culture of the barriofolk must be prepared. I hope this study may contribute toward this end.

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I am deeply indebted to a host of individuals, both in the United States and the Philippines, for their guidance, assistance, and encouragement. A list of all such persons would fill many pages, and there are some whose names I do not know. However, as in every research

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[1]Pio Pedrosa, "Economic Directions: Regimentation or Freedom." Commencement address, University of the Philippines, April 14, 1953, p.2. Mimeographed.

The original plan was to include all the material gathered during the research period in Caticugan. Due to the probable length of such a study, to the need for careful examination of historical records, and time limitations, this plan was regretfully abandoned. In the near future I hope to write an accompanying volume for this present report that will deal mainly with the social organization of the people of Caticugan. The tentative chapter headings for this proposed volume are: THE BARRIO FAMILY; BARRIO KINSHIP PATTERNS; LIFE CYCLE: REPRODUCTION; LIFE CYCLE: THE EARLY YEARS; LIFE CYCLE: OLITAOS AND DALAGAS; LIFE CYCLE: THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS - MARRIAGE; LIFE CYCLE: THE FRIENDLY FOE - DEATH; SICKNESS AND ITS TREATMENT; THE OLD RELIGION; THE NEW RELIGIONS; THE SCHOOLS; THE RURAL FIESTA; and FINE ARTS IN THE BARRIO.[3]

The research done was not aimed primarily at the investigation of any specific theoretical problem in anthropology. With the meager information available on Christian Filipino culture, the pressing need today is for the collection of accurate information on the general contours of Philippine culture. This is a dissertation, therefore, on many problems, not one problem.

Ralph Beals has written:

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[3] A general summary of some of my material on the rural fiesta has been published as "Preliminary Notes on the Rural Fiesta Complex (Negros Oriental)," Silliman Journal, I, No. 2 (March, 1954), pp. 1-10.

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> It is obvious that scientific ends in anthropology are often varied in character, but all depend to some extent upon the primary problem of description. It is obviously impossible to discuss anything...without first knowing its characteristics. Description, then, necessarily provides the raw data for any scientific objective. The amount of description necessary to any particular objective may, of course, vary, but unless a precisely limited problem is set in advance, the fullest possible description is apt to be of the widest use to the most people.[4]

The primary objective of the research done in Caticugan was to gather data which would enable the writer to describe community activities and to establish a foundation for future research in the rural Visayas.[5] Since there was no "precisely limited problem" the fullest possible description was believed to be of the greatest value. While this study is mainly descriptive, the data are not presented without selection for one could write 500 pages on how to build a house or a fish corral.

This study is the first detailed anthropological report of a Christian Filipino community. After the completion of my research the Philippine Council for

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[4]Ralph L. Beals and others. House and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans. Publication No. 1. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, 1944. p.2.

[5]Visaya is a term for the "middle islands" of the Philippine archipelago, namely, Leyte, Samar, Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, Negros, and Panay, to list the more important ones.

United States Aid and the United States Mutual Security Agency made a limited, and mainly statistical, study of thirteen different barrios from Luzon to Mindanao.[6]

Anthropologists working in the Philippines have concentrated largely on the primitive peoples such as the Negritos, Ifugaos and other scattered groups in the archipelago. Yet Felix Keesing wrote in 1949 that the study of primitive groups in the Philippines "is a rich yet little worked field."[7] The study of Christian Filipino culture is a more neglected field of research. There is less anthropological material on any one of the major Christian Filipino groups than on the small Negrito bands of the islands.

Due to this lack of information on Christian Filipinos, the impact of American culture on rural Filipinos often has been exaggerated. Grunder and Livezey state:

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[6] Generoso F. Rivera and Robert T. McMillan, The Rural Philippines, Manila, Philippines. A cooperative project of the Philippine Council for United States Aid and the United States Mutual Security Agency, reproduced by the Office of Information, Mutual Security Agency, October 1952. This report was released less than a week before my manuscript was sent to the typist. However, part of this report was available to the writer, Rivera and McMillan, "The Rural Philippine Cooperative Project of PHILCUSA and MSA, Part II: Summary and Suggested Lines of Action and Part V; Agriculture." Manila, Philippines, August 1952, 34 pages, mimeographed.

[7] Felix Keesing, "Some Notes on Bontok Social Organization, Northern Philippines," American Anthropologist, LI, No. 4, Part 1 (October-December 1949), p.578.

Hardie land tenure report contained a veiled threat of intervention on the part of the United States if certain internal economic conditions were not eradicated.[11] Senator Claro Recto, spokesman for the Nacionalista party, has spoken indignantly regarding certain aspects of American policy.

> Why then was it necessary to amend our Constitution to grant parity to Americans, to give them military, naval and air bases in our sovereign territory, to slavishly play the kite to every changing wind in American foreign policy, to make America's enemies automatically our own, to submit to supervision over our internal affairs including even the reorganization of our cabinet and of our army's high command, and the enactment of our revenue statutes and social legislation, conditions which no self-respecting nation under the Marshall Plan ever accepted?[12]

The paucity of data on Christian Philippine culture, the frequent exaggeration of the impact of past American policies on rural Filipinos, and the rise of a nervous nationalism among many politically alert individuals are all factors which handicap American efforts to assist the Republic initiating a grass-root rural renaissance. Future relations between the Philippines

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[11] Robert S. Hardie, Philippine Land Tenure Reform: Analysis and Recommendations. Manila, Special Technical and Economic Mission, Mutual Security Agency, 1952.

[12] Address given by Senator Recto in Manila, May 4, 1951. p.21. Mimeographed.

and the United States must take a more realistic and sensitive approach to problems of mutual concern. One way this approach may be partly achieved is through a better understanding of rural Philippines.[13]

Caticugan is a village in which the transition, for the most part, from a primitive to a modern community, has been achieved. The research techniques needed to study this barrio could not be the same as those used in the observation of a primitive community. The shift of attention of many anthropologists from the study of primitive to modern communities has sometimes left much to be desired in the use of the community study method. Whereas "a community study that is adequate by all standards will probably never be made", the potential value of this basically anthropological approach to modern communities has yet to be fully explored.[14]

According to Julian Steward, there has been an uncritical transfer of the techniques of community studies from primitive to modern societies. For example:

> The historical approach has been little used in [modern] community studies; history is rarely included in them and never covers more than a few

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[13]For some penetrating comments along this line vide Jose Lansang, "Philippine-American Experiment--A Filipino's Viewpoint", Pacific Affairs, XXV, No. 3, (September, 1952), pp.226-34.

[14]Julian H. Steward, Area Research: Theory and Practice. Bulletin 63. New York, Social Science Research Council, 1950. p.47.

> years of the immediate past. The result is that analysis of function and process tends to be predominately synchronic and lacks insights into the basic trends that the historical method might give.[15]

Anthropologists studying primitive communities, normally groups without a written language, rarely are able to consult historical records. The anthropologist is often the first individual to study a community, about which very little is otherwise known. The only historical "records" which exist, outside of archaeological artifacts, are the memories of the people--their traditional history in myth, song and oral literature. A different situation is encountered, however, when anthropological studies are made of modern communities. Books, public documents and official reports deal with the community under observation. However, the "historical lag" which occurred in the process of transference from primitive to modern community studies still persists in many quarters. In some cases anthropologists have conducted modern community studies as if no historical records were available.

Steward also writes that the value of many modern community studies would be enhanced if they treated the community as part of a larger whole.

> That the community is part of a larger whole which deeply affects it is recognized but the methodology for relating it to the larger whole has not been developed because investigations of regions, nations, and areas generally have divided the subject matter among specialized disciplines.[16]

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[15] Ibid., p.24.

[16] Ibid., p.50.

Many studies of modern communities have been made "as if the larger whole were simply a mosaic of such parts."[17] 121 ●

Believing these comments to be constructive criticism of many modern community studies, a technique still in the process of evolution, I directed my research toward putting into action some of Steward's recommendations. The historical approach was stressed to place Barrio Caticugan and Siaton municipality in their proper perspective. Chapter III, THE HISTORICAL MOULD, is an attempt to reconstruct the past of this locality over two centuries, based upon the unpublished Cadiane manuscript, interviews with local informants, and historical records. 127 121

A study of the interrelations of Caticugan with Siaton municipality, and the latter with its wider setting, Negros Island, is handicapped by the lack of detailed materials. On the other hand, the writer was [114] fortunate to have Dr. Frederick L. Wernstedt's "Agricultural Regionalism on Negros Island, Philippines."[18] Through a happy coincidence both Dr. Wernstedt and the writer selected Negros for study during the same year.

Though comparisons are made, the lack of data on 121 barrio life in the Philippines, particularly in the

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[17] Ibid., p.22.

[18] Frederick L. Wernstedt, "Agricultural Regionalism on Negros Island, Philippines." Unpublished doctoral dissertation in geography. Los Angeles, University of California, January, 1953, 264pp. Ozalid reproduction.

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Visayan islands, made it difficult to determine regional similarities and differences. However, our Chapter III, THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF NEGROS ISLAND, is an attempt to place Caticugan in its geographic setting in relation to Negros. Whenever possible, I have taken into consideration the geographic bonds and historical links of Caticugan to its larger setting and past.

J. E. Spencer has written that

> Regionalism is derived from the physical landscape itself, from climate, vegetation, drainage, and soils. Regionalism is contributed by the variable patterns of land use--agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, or industry. And regionalism also is contributed by the group psychologies and the culture patterns that descend in part from historical events and from the racial and religious differences of the various peoples who make up the Philippine archipelago.[19]

The study of Philippine regional geography, as outlined by Spencer, is manifestly a task not only for geographers but also anthropologists.

The regional geography of the Philippines is handicapped, however, by the lack of detailed studies of small localities like Caticugan. For George Cressey states

> Regional generalizations are valid only as they rest upon demonstrated relations within the smaller mosaic [which compose the region], and the latter acquire meaningfulness only as oriented in their larger setting.[20]

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[19]Joseph E. Spencer, Land and People in the Philippines: Geographic Problems in Rural Economy. Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1952, p. 24.

[20]George B. Cressey, Asia's Lands and People. A Geography of One-Third the Earth and Two-Thirds its People. 2nd ed. New York and London, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951. p. 99.

The regional geography of the Philippines lacks these "mosaics" as Spencer's recent study indicates. Our Chapters II and IV are attempts at geographic enrichment of the usual anthropological community studies of Southeast Asia. As more community studies of this type are made, geographers will be assisted in refining Philippine regional geography, since they can draw more upon "demonstrated relations within the smaller mosaic."

Techniques

Negros Island was selected for study for four major reasons. First, during the period of research, conditions in the island were not disturbed by the predatory activities of the Hukbalahap (an agrarian communist-dominated rebellion) which would have made research difficult, if not impossible. Second, Visayan Filipinos constitute the largest group in the Philippines, yet little is known of their way of life. Another and somewhat ancillary factor was that Hindu and Indonesian influences are best preserved in the Visayan region. Third, in Negros we have invaluable "bench marks" with the Povedano manuscripts of 1572 and 1578

and Pavón's material written in 1837-1838.[21] Fourth, the writer had excellent personal contacts in Negros Oriental which would facilitate research in this province, particularly with the cooperation of Silliman University, Dumaguete City. All these factors indicated the desirability of locating in Negros.

I wished to select a "typical" Visayan (Cebuano) agricultural barrio. I did not want to live in a barrio which was either unusually backward or progressive, but rather one which was representative of the majority of Visayan farming communities. While a "typical" barrio is as mythical as the "average" American, there are certain characteristics common to the greater number of barrios in this region. On the basis of exploratory trips to Siquijor, Bohol and Cebu islands, conversations with individuals, and previous information, I felt there were seven factors to consider in the selection of a barrio.

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[21] The full title of the 1578 Povedano manuscript is "Las Antiguas Leyendas y Cuentos de los Indios Jarayas--Jiguenes e Igneines de Esta Isla de Bugtas." This manuscript was discovered in 1950 in Cebu City and has yet to be published, although the writer was able to read the partial translation in the possession of Dr. Beyer. Dr. Eggan has a copy of another manuscript written by Povedano in 1572 which is in the process of being translated and edited at the University of Chicago. Diego Lope Povedano was the son of a general of Phillip II who became a land owner in Negros (Bugtas) and described conditions he saw while traveling in the island. Vide Gregorio F. Zaide, "Oldest Filipiniana Document", Freedom, V, No. 9 (March 2, 1953), pp.26-7.

First, a barrio should be chosen which was neither too near nor too far from a fair-sized urban center; in either case I might have failed to obtain a typical Philippine situation. This condition implied more than mere physical propinquity. It included such factors as roads and bus schedules. In this situation, Caticugan, and Siaton poblacion, are at the half-way mark between the end of the National Road, at Tolong, and Dumaguete City, the capital of Negros Oriental. Siaton poblacion is 35 miles from both Tolong and Dumaguete.

Second, a barrio was desired that was near the National Road. The roads in rural Philippines are major arteries of culture change (ranking in importance with the schools, due to the relative lack of radios, reading materials, and the cinema. In Siaton municipality for every mile one went away (north) from the National Road one retreated several decades in cultural change. Caticugan is only a ten-minute walk from the National Road.

Third, I wanted to study a barrio in which the people were predominantly Catholics, since this is the religion of 83 per cent of the Filipinos.[22] On the other hand, I felt a municipality where Aglipayan and

[22]The 1948 Philippine Census states that 83 per cent of the Filipinos are Roman Catholics; 8 per cent Aglipayans (Philippine Independent Church); 4 per cent Moslems; 2 per cent Protestants; and 3 per cent other denominations. Rivera and McMillan, The Rural Philippines, p.166.

Protestant churches were active had the advantage of studying the problems and conflicts between these various denominations. In some of the northern municipalities of Negros Oriental, the dominant denomination is Aglipayanism and not Catholicism. Though there were no Aglipayan churches south of Dumaguete, Siaton had a United Church of Christ and a Seventh Day Adventist church.

Fourth, a barrio near the municipal poblacion was advantageous in order to study the functions of local government and to gather comparative data on barrio and poblacion life. This proved to be a wise decision for other reasons, not then anticipated. Residence in the poblacion made it possible to develop friendships with municipal officials which greatly facilitated my acceptance by the barriofolk. By becoming intimately acquainted with these local officials, I was able to examine municipal records and observe poblacion activities which would have been difficult, if not impossible, had I lived in a community some distance from the municipal seat.

Fifth, the barrio selected had to be in an area that was not disturbed by the Hukbalahap movement, which would have disorganized the normal way of life and made research extremely difficult. The Hukbalahap movement, or the Huks as the members are known, is a communist-dominated agrarian rebellion against the Philippine

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government which is nourished by social injustices and tenancy problems common in many parts of the rural Philippines.[23] During 1951 the peaceful conditions of Negros were never disturbed by this dissident movement.

Sixth, a barrio was desired in which the land use pattern was not plantation agriculture. Though plantation (sugar) agriculture is the typical land utilization in most of Negros Occidental province, it is not for the Visayas as a whole. As for tenancy, Negros Oriental province comes close to the national averages. Whereas corn is the major food of most Visayans, I wished to locate in a barrio in which rice culture also could be studied.

Seventh, I sought a barrio near enough to the sea to permit a survey of fishing activities. For this purpose two sitios were selected, Baybay and Malabuhan.

Siaton municipality was first suggested by Professor Timoteo Oracion, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Silliman University. Professor Oracion, a native of Negros Oriental, knew the municipality well and recommended it as an excellent area for study of a barrio. The first trip to Siaton was made in the company [123] of Professor Oracion who introduced me to his friends and the municipal officials. A second trip was made about a week later after I had discussed the municipality with

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[23] For a recent account of the Hukbalahap movement vide Luis Taruc, Born of the People. New York, International Publishers, 1953. Taruc is one of the founders and leaders of this movement.

various individuals in Dumaguete. After the second visit Siaton was tentatively selected. I decided to stay in the poblacion for several weeks. If the desired type of barrio was not found, I planned to move to southern Bohol where I had located another possible barrio for study.

After two weeks Caticugan appeared to be ideal for my purposes--a decision which I never regretted. After locating in the poblacion I met Mr. Juan Cadiane who had a manuscript history of the general area of Siaton and also found an unusually capable interpreter, Mr. Dioscoro Ragay. I finally decided it was unnecessary to move from the poblacion to Caticugan, as I had previously planned, once I had selected a barrio. As time passed it became obvious that the advantages of living in Siaton poblacion, a ten-minute walk from Caticugan, outweighed the disadvantages. I made frequent visits to Caticugan in the evening, often staying overnight with friends. It soon became apparent that little activity occurred in the barrio at night except for dances, funeral wakes and certain religious events of which I knew in advance. Since most of the barriofolk retired with the sun, it would have been difficult to have worked after darkness.

At the start I spent most of my time explaining to the people in the poblacion, and later in the barrio, the purposes of my residence. I told the people that I wished to learn Cebuano. I had decided to live in a rural area

I originally planned to study Caticugan only, but I soon realized that the sitios Naga, Dangola and Talo-ot had to be included. Talo-ot was for all purposes part of Caticugan while Dangola was located on a bluff overlooking the barrio. The houses of Naga were built on a stretch of level ground between Caticugan and the Mantuyop River. Residents of Caticugan had land and relatives in these three sitios and the people mingled daily.

Three trips, varying from two to four days each, were made to the northernmost communities in the Siaton River valley, including Balanan, Casala-an, Dolog, Apoloy and Comon (Goshen). When the rainy season began visits to these northern barrios became almost impossible because of flood levels in the river. Many one or two-day trips were also made to the various barrios in other parts of Siaton municipality. Once a month a two-day visit was made to Dumaguete to discuss certain problems with the provincial officials and to obtain supplies not available in the poblacion.

I made a four-day trip from Siaton to Tolong poblacion in order to see the coastal region of southern Negros. During the final month I travelled for two weeks in Negros Occidental province, going as far south as Kabankalan. During this journey I stopped at various poblaciona in both the provinces. The purposes of these trips were to see the relation of Caticugan and Siaton municipality, to the island as a whole, and to gather additional data.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL MOULD

This chapter sketches the general historical contours of Siaton and Negros. One criticism of many anthropological studies of modern communities has stressed neglect of the historical approach, resulting from an "uncritical transfer of the methodology of studies of primitive peoples to those of modern societies."[1] Since all cultures are dynamic, reconstruction of their past furnishes valuable insights into the present and suggests possible future trends. For these reasons--in order to see Caticugan not only as it is but as it was--I have tried to recover and synthesize from printed record, oral tradition and manuscript source the history of Caticugan and its larger setting.

Caticugan barriofolk are heirs of many cultural traditions. The history of Negros and Siaton sheds light on the temporal sequence of various culture contacts, their impact and subsequent modification of the barriofolk's way of life. Yet events in Siaton or Caticugan cannot be adequately understood apart from the island's history; for this reason selected aspects of the historical development of Negros are presented as a backdrop.

This chapter deals with five major periods in the history of Negros and Siaton. The first period begins with the Spanish settlement of Negros, including the founding of

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[1] Steward, op. cit., pp. 24-5.

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It is hoped this recapitulation has illustrated the insights that accrue from a historical survey of Negros, Siaton and Caticugan. Much of the material to follow will be more meaningful in the light of the historical development of Negros. For "human culture thus no longer is something that we believe we can derive directly from psychology, but it is construed as a historic product whose history can be gradually reconstructed and is being reconstructed."[178] Anthropology divorced from history would be an impoverished discipline.[179]

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[178]Alfred L. Kroeber, "The Delimitations of Civilizations," The Journal of the History of Ideas, XIV, No. 2 (April, 1953), p. 276.

[179]David Bidney, Theoretical Anthropology. New York, Columbia University Press, 1953, p. 285. Vide "Culture History," pp. 215-48.

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stump in the center. Bunches of rice stalks, about two handfuls, were slightly leaned against the base of the stump. The stump was encircled in this manner with "rings" of rice. One "ring" or layer was placed over another and stacks six or seven feet high were made. No rice stacks were seen in Caticugan in 1951. The barrio-folk said tumpils were only memories of the past when the rice harvests were more abundant. I did see rice stacks built around a center bamboo upright in other parts of southern Negros.

Paddy Sizes and Yields in Caticugan and Environs

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While municipal land records were studied, a personal survey was made in Caticugan to check the figures obtained from these records as to size of paddies, also to get additional data on yield, residence of owners and tenancy rates.[33] Few farmers know the acreage of their fields. The method of determining field sizes has already been described. I had mimeographed forms made of the land records and

[33] Rural land records in the Philippines are not noted for reliability; this is true for other Asian countries such as Japan. Vide Richard K. Beardsley's review of The Japanese Village in Transition, in Pacific Affairs, XXIV, No. 4 (December, 1951), pp. 428-30. There have been no cadastral surveys in Siaton municipality. Recently the land records of Negros Oriental were rechecked to improve their accuracy. However, the "inspectors" are said to have been the local supporters of provincial politicos and the program occurred suspiciously close to an election.

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transferred the data from these records to my forms. All land records for the barrios in the Siaton River valley were copied.

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I interviewed about fifty families--about 40 per cent of the families resident in Caticugan. Of course, not all of the people living in Caticugan own or till paddies. Of the families interviewed, figures were obtained for twenty-six individual paddies from twenty families; other families did not cultivate any paddies. Six of these paddies were located outside Caticugan so they were eliminated. Of the twenty paddies, totaling nearly 25 acres, all were planted with Macan Sta. Rosa except one farmer who had interplanted a glutinous variety.

Another survey was made of lowland rice paddy sizes and yields in Sandolot and Datag to obtain comparative data. Seventeen families living in Datag and fourteen in Sandolot were interviewed. Their paddies, totaling 61 acres, were all planted with Macan Sta. Rosa, except one paddy planted with Lubang. According to the municipal land records the average size of the rice fields in Caticugan is .99 of an acre while my survey arrived at the figure of 1.1 acres. The average paddy in Sandolot-Datag was slightly larger--1.6 acres. In 1952 Siaton's average rice yield per acre was 891 pounds; for Caticugan, according to my survey, the yield was only 553 pounds per acre. The Sandolot-Datag average rice yield was lower than in Caticugan; 337 pounds per acre. These figures support the opinion that of all the rice fields seen in the Siaton

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remembered. Land is the barriofolk's bank. It offers greater security than any other investment. Before the people there was the land and after the people there will be land. While fire, storm, flood and war may destroy other possessions, land is the most indestructible. Without land most barriofolk could live in the community only as dependents of their family or relatives--a situation more accepted than encouraged. Few writers describe the land with such warm sentimentality and endearment as do Filipinos.

> Behold the bountiful land,
> The young hills and the corn;
> In the green river's womb
> Children are born.
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> Honey's in the forest,
> Blue fish in the sea;
> The ash-grey of the clearings
> Grown grain for me.
>
> N. V. M. Gonzalez

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Chapter IV was focused on the land use patterns and agricultural practices in Caticugan. This chapter[1] is concerned with social patterns that regulate land use in the barrio: inheritance, heirs, succession, and methods of division of real estate and movable property. The patterns of tenancy in Caticugan, and regulations that govern the relationships between tenant and landlord; different ways of borrowing and loaning money--credit arrangements--will be presented. This topic deals with some of the most sensitive and disruptive forces within Caticugan.

[1] [i.e. Ch. V -- Analyst]

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regions); and (3) the Visayas, i.e., Panay, Bohol and Cebu islands. While weaving is done in other parts of the archipelago, these three areas contain the majority of weavers and produce most of the woven fabrics of the Philippines. After the last war the weaving industry in the Philippines was rapidly declining due to the destruction of looms during the occupation, high costs of materials, influx of inexpensive cotton material from abroad, and obsolete designs, and inconsistencies in size and quality of locally produced fabrics.[9]

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Caticugan (and Negros Island) is not representative of any one of these three major Philippine weaving areas. Only a few older women weave abaca cloth in Caticugan.[10] There were ten looms in Caticugan (two were broken)--or about one loom to every twelve families. Not all of these looms were used in 1951. I estimate that of the eight workable looms only four or five were used, at one time or another, during my residence; no loom was in constant use by its owner during this year. The probable disappearance of weaving in Caticugan in the future encouraged me to spend more time in studying the technique than would have been merited by its importance in the community's economy.

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The barrio loom (halablan) is made of bamboo except for the wooden beam and cloth rollers (likisan) and base

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[9] Lysbeth Wallace, Hand-Weaving in the Philippines. United Nations Publication, Sales Number: 1954.II.H.3., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/3, December 21, 1953, p. 2.

[10] Abaca is better known as Manila hemp (Musa textilis). Bark cloth is not made by the barriofolk of Caticugan, although cloth from the bark of the talobang tree is made by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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ABSTRACT

Barrio Caticugan, A Visayan Filipino Community is an anthropological community study made in 1951 of a barrio (village) of Christian Filipinos located in Siaton municipality, Negros Oriental Province, Negros, Philippines. The writer lived in the locality for nearly one year; the research was made possible by a Fulbright Fellowship. Research was directed mainly toward the study of the technology of the barriofolk who live in an agricultural community that the writer believes is fairly typical of Cebuano Filipinos. The research results are presented in nine chapters.

Chapter I (INTRODUCTION AND TECHNIQUES) describes how and why the barrio was selected for investigation and the various techniques employed to obtain information. Chapter II (THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF NEGROS) sets the barrio and Siaton municipality within the general geographic and cultural framework of Negros Island. Such factors as climate, soils, vegetation, land use patterns, transportation facilities and population growth of Negros are discussed; the focus is on the relationships of Caticugan to the island as a whole.

Chapter III (THE HISTORICAL MOULD) is a history of Negros built around a manuscript history of Siaton that was written by a Siaton resident. This chapter deals with the Spanish settlement of Negros, Moro raids, local

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PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE RURAL PHILIPPINE FIESTA COMPLEX
(NEGROS ORIENTAL PROVINCE) [1]

DONN V. HART

796 THE fiesta (piyesta) is as typical of the Philippines as corn, coconuts, and carabaos. Every day in the year some city, *poblacion* or *barrio* is holding a fiesta in honor of its patron saint. For most rural Filipinos the fiesta is the big annual *prowicias* (blow-out). As one sophisticated Manileña has written:

> At certain times of the year, Manila loses portions of its population to the provinces surrounding it. The call is irresistible to those who hear it and completely mystifying to those who do not and who are compelled to watch while, one after another, a segment of the community around them collectively drops everything it holds dear and necessary to life in this dusty metropolis to participate in the curious religious-social rites known as the fiesta.[2]

There is no printed source by which the actual number of fiestas annually held in Negros Island can be determined, or in the Philippines as a whole. Since there are more than 600 *barrios* in Negros, and many more *sitios*, the number of fiestas held in this island each year probably total more than 500. The fiesta is a major aspect of Philippine culture and an excellent example of the reinterpretation of Spanish culture by Filipinos over the centuries. It is remarkable that so little has been written on these fiestas, for they are so typical of the Philippines. This article

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[1] This study was part of the research done by the writer while a Fulbright Fellow in the Philippines, 1950-52. For one year the writer lived in the southern part of Negros while making a community study of Barrio Caticugan, municipality of Siaton. The writer attended eight *barrio*, three *poblacion*, and one city fiestas while living in Negros Oriental. His work was aided in many ways by the gracious hospitality and cooperation afforded him by the faculty of Silliman University. It is understood, of course, that neither the Fulbright Committee nor Silliman University is responsible for the opinions and conclusions stated in this draft on the rural fiesta complex.

[2] Consuelo Abaya, "The Fiesta," *Philippine Quarterly*, 1:30, March, 1952.

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796 121 123 presents preliminary notes on the rural fiesta complex as observed in Negros Oriental province during 1950-52. The information on the fiesta was obtained through participant observation, interviewing of informants, a careful analysis of scores of printed fiesta programs, and other published materials.

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796 177 The fiesta complex was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish conquerors of the archipelago in the 16th century. All fiestas originally corresponded to church feasts listed on the Catholic calendar " . . . and were, whatever they have now turned out to be, originally intended solely to do honor to the patron saints of the towns of King Philip's Catholic colony."[3] During the following centuries the fiesta was reinterpreted by the Filipinos. The event came to fill a sociocultural void created by the priests' suppression of ancient pagan ceremonies, to increase the religious education of the *tao* and the church's position among the people, and whether it was an original purpose or not, soon became a profitable financial venture for the Church.

771 Most rural Filipinos regard their patron saint as the "guardian" of their *barrio* or *poblacion*, watching over their health, households and general welfare. The patron saint is normally in the background of community affairs in the *barrios*, if less so in the *poblacions*, except during the fiesta period, when the *poblacions* also render special homage to their [789] saint. In periods of crises, crop failures, lack of rain, epidemics, etc., the patron saint may be turned to for aid, particularly by the barrio folk. During the writer's residence in Siaton, the people of Caticugan carried their patron saint (San Isidro) around the barrio, singing and praying, in hope of producing a badly needed rain for their parched crops. Ordinarily, however, the patron saint does not have such an important place in the daily routine of the people as during the annual fiesta. Yet, for many of the Filipinos, the mere fact that a patron saint exists must give them a diffused feeling of security.

796 This article cannot fully explore the modifications made by Filipinos on the original fiesta complex of the Spaniards. However, certain obvious and important reinterpretations will be pointed out.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In a survey of the fiestas of Negros Island the four frequently selected patron saints were: (1) San Isidro de Labrador; (2) Santo Niño; (3) San Jose; and (4) Sta. Cruz. San Isidro is the patron saint of farmers, a fact which probably explains, in part, his popularity. Male saints are, by far, the most popular, probably because there are more male than female saints in the Catholic faith.